DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 250 936 FL 014 693

AUTHOR Duranti, Alessandro
TITLE "Lauga" and "Talanoaga": Structure and Variation in the Language of a Samoan Speech Event. Sociolinguistic Working Paper Number 72.
INSTITUTION Southwest Educational Development Lab., Austin, Tex.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Apr 80
NOTE 39p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Conflict Resolution; *Cultural Context; *Interpersonal Communication; *Language Usage; *Language Variation; Meetings; *Samoan
IDENTIFIERS Ethnolinguistics; *Samoa; *Speech Events

ABSTRACT

Several ways in which the speech event may constitute a frame for performing and interpreting a particular speech genre are illustrated in the Samoan "fono," a meeting of chiefs and orators. In this event, both the organization of verbal interaction and the particular kind of language used by participants is distinct from the participants' conversations in other social situations. The turn-taking rules are different, the lexicon is specially suited for the context, different terms are used for differentiating statuses and ranks, and the morphology and syntax are distinctive. Within the event itself, native speakers differentiate two types of speech: "lauga" and "talanoaga," and the terms used for this distinction in the fono speeches also refer to but do not match types of speech found outside the fono, illustrating again that the speech event is a key to interpreting the genres in each case. This is related to the notion of verbal art as performance: despite their structural similarities, two instances of the same speech genre are both performed by the speechmaker and perceived by the audience in a different way. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

LAUGA AND TALANOAGA: STRUCTURE AND VARIATION IN THE LANGUAGE OF A SAMOAN SPEECH EVENT

Alessando Duranti
University of Southern California
and
Universita di Roma

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
ATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
UCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as
eceived from the person or organization
riginating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve
eproduction quality.
Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official NIE
osition or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

SEDL

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Sociolinguistic Working Paper
NUMBER 72

April 1980

Southwest Educational Development Laboratory
211 East Seventh Street
Austin, Texas

LĀUGA AND TALANOAGA: STRUCTURE AND VARIATION IN THE LANGUAGE OF A SAMOAN SPEECH EVENT

Alessandro Duranti

University of Southern California
and
Universita di Roma

> By genres are meant categories such as poem, myth, tale, proverb, riddle, curse, prayer, oration, . . .
> . . . Often enough a genre recurs in several events. . . . A great deal of empirical work will be needed to clarify the interrelations of genres, events, acts, and other components . . .
>
> Dell Hymes (1972:65)

1. Introduction[1]

In this paper I will discuss the way in which the speech event can be seen as a "frame," in Bateson's terms[2], within and through which the particular genre of speech being used must be interpreted.

The scene of this study is a particular type of meeting of matai (chiefs and orators) in a Samoan village[3]. I will refer to this kind of meeting throughout the paper as the "fono." Although this is the term also used by Samoans, the word "fono" has quite a variety of possible interpretations, which must be specified in each context (cf. Shore 1977; Duranti in preparation, ch. 4).

The fono whose verbal and non-verbal organization I will describe in this paper are meetings especially called (by one of the two senior orators in the village) for discussing some particularly important matter (or event) that has already (or may, in the immediate future) upset the social equilibrium of the community. Borrowing Turner's terminology and theory of social dramas, we can then define this kind of fono as an "arena," that is, "a framework . . . which manifestly functions as a setting for antagonistic interaction aimed at arriving at a publicly recognized decision" (Turner 1974:133).

It is within the fono that the leaders of the community try to overcome crises in the social life of the village, struggle for power, and redefine alliances. In this context, language is not only the most important

medium of communication, it is also used to define the event, mark its different phases, and distinguish among the different roles of the participants.

Both the organization of talk and the language of the fono are different, in many respects, from conversation. In Section 2, I discuss the distinctive features of the talk in the fono as a whole. In Section 3, I show that native speakers make a distinction between two different types of speeches that are delivered in the fono: (1) lāuga, and (2) talanoaga. Despite similarities (illustrated in Section 2), native speakers perceive the speeches in the fono as belonging to either one of the two genres.

In the spirit of the approach proposed within the ethnography of speaking (cf. Bauman and Sherzer 1974, 1975; Frake, 1972), I will first illustrate the two basic native criteria for the distinction between lāuga and talanoaga in the fono: (1) a TOPIC constraint, and (2) a SEQUENTIAL constraint. On the basis of my own observations, I will also illustrate some other differences. Finally, I will compare the lāuga in a fono and lāuga in a ceremony must be seen as related to a difference in the "focus" of the interaction and the role of the speech in the event. Whereas a lāuga in a ceremony is the climax of that event, the most important domain for display and evaluation of verbal art, in which the performer assumes a commitment towards the audience and the audience towards the performer, a lāuga in a fono is, instead, perceived as a "transition point," a necessary introduction to the forthcoming discussion, which is the climax of the event.

1.1 Data sources and research methods.

The data for this study were collected during a one year period of field work in the Village of Falefā, in the Island of Upolu, in Western Samoa. The data consist of direct (participant) observation and audio recording of fono in the village. Informal conversations and ceremonial speeches were also recorded for comparative purposes, and several informal interviews were conducted with chiefs and orators from the village who could provide insights and evaluations of the events from a Samoan perspective. A large number of the interviews and discussions with the village matai were also recorded. When I felt that recording was not appropriate because of the situation or the topic discussed, I either took

notes during the discussion or wrote a report in my field notes subsequently. Most of these discussions were conducted in Samoan, a few of them in English. If the session was not recorded on tape, I tried, as much as I could, to take notes in the language that was being used. In this way I had some record of the linguistic expressions that people had used in discussing a certain event or concept. Especially when this had been done in Samoan, the language used was often a good clue to the Samoan viewpoint on the particular matter.

All the tapes from seven important fono over a continuous period of four months (January-April 1979) were transcribed by native speakers from the village whom I had trained in the transcription technique. I also checked all the transcripts by listening to the tapes myself. Subsequently, I would relisten to the tapes with the person who had transcribed them and discuss with him the passages that my ear had heard differently. This would also be the time for discussing part of the content of the speeches, especially those expressions that I had never seen before and needed some explanation. The interpretation of the transcripts and, more generally, of the event as a whole (e.g., "what are the participants trying to accomplish?" or "why did so-and-so say that?" etc.) was done at different times and with different people, depending upon the content of the speeches. I tried, as much as I could, to get someone who had participated in the event, and, in a few cases, even the person who had given a certain speech, to give me an interpretation of what was going on. The amount of information and level of sophistication of such a process was a function of several factors that had to do with the person's role in the event, his status, his relationship with me (often the result of a complex system of relations and obligations), his understanding of my goals, his personal interest in my work (some people seemed more keen than others in "helping the stranger"), his ability to remove himself from the situation and look at the topics discussed in the fono as not immediately affecting his person or relatives.

Since I found out very soon that the language of the fono is, in many respects, a "restricted code" to which only a subgroup of the adult population has complete access, I could not rely upon young "untitled people" for transcribing or interpreting the data. Only matai, either chiefs or orators, could provide the necessary and reliable information.

Young, untitled people were instead very helpful for a different kind of data, such as, for instance, a nighttime conversation among teenagers about the latest movies shown in the Capital (Apia), and the most recent fights after the cricket match in the village.

1.2 Definition of the event: what is a fono?

I am particularly interested here in addressing two issues with respect to the definition of a fono as a speech event: (1) Is it possible to define a fono as distinct from other events in the society (that may share with the fono several important or minor features)? (2) Can we establish the event's boundaries and other characteristics in a way which would be consistent with the native understanding?

Both (1) and (2) are important questions not only with respect to the fono, but, more generally, for any ethnographic account of speech events in a given society. In what follows I will provide a list and a description of what I judge to be characteristics of the fono consistent with (1) and (2), although I will not say, at each point, with respect to which other event a particular feature becomes relevant.

Accounts of other types of fono in other villages and with other foci of attention and goals can also be found in some published works by Mead (1931), Freeman (1978), Shore (1977).

FEATURES OF THE EVENT:

(a) Boundaries. In talking about "boundaries" we must distinguish along two dimensions: (i) physical boundaries, and (ii) temporal boundaries. The physical boundaries define the "space" in which the event is taking place. The fono takes place inside one house. Both the "inside" and the "one" are important, given that there are other social events in which participants (also) act in an open space (usually in front of a house), and there are other types of fono (viz. fono tauati) which take place in several different houses at the same time (see Shore, 1977 for a description of a fono tauati in the Village of Sala'ilua, on the Island of Savai'i).

Temporal boundaries refer, for instance, to the beginning and to the end of the event. The beginning of a fono is always signaled by the kava ceremony. Almost any time matai get together for some official reason, kava is served. However, the way kava is distributed varies. In the fono I am describing, the order of kava serving at the beginning is different from any other gathering of matai in that orators drink first (whereas chiefs are usually served first), and according to a particular

sequence principle (cf. Duranti in prep., ch. 4). The order of drinking kava also parallels the order of speakers in the fono, at least up to a certain (predictable) number.

The end of the fono is sometimes marked by another kava ceremony. Other times though, the end is less clear-cut and one may perceive a gradual change in the form and content of the verbal and non-verbal behavior going from more "formal" to less "formal" features (I am thinking here of the various characteristics of "formality" discussed by Irvine 1979). A different kind of end-marker from the official kava ceremony is LAUGHTER. A person will make a joke, and the laughter that follows it, with the public recognition of that particular speech act as a "joke," signals that the tension is (or, at least, "should" be) over and people should relax. After this, the verbal interaction resembles conversation, with several people speaking at the same time and in a less homogeneous and restricted register.

Another distinction that we can make in terms of boundaries is between (i) external, and (ii) internal boundaries. This distinction crosscuts the one drawn above between physical and temporal. The house walls or posts define the external physical boundaries, whereas, the internal physical boundaries are defined in the seating arrangement.

Seating arrangement. The way people seat themselves inside the house is significant and is done according to an ideal plan structured on the basis of statuses (chiefs vs. orators), ranks (high vs. low rank titles), extent of participation in the event. Variations and "violations" of the ideal plan are the norm, but they must be understood as having the abstract plan as a key. Very roughly, the two senior orators[4] of the village and the orators who are going to speak sit in what is considered the "front" of the house[5]. The high rank chiefs sit in either one of the two shorter sides (tala); the other chiefs and the orators who are in charge of the kava ceremony sit in the "back." (For a fuller account of the seating arrangement (cf. chapter 4 of Duranti in preparation), Fig. 1 provides an example of an actual seating arrangement in one of the fono I recorded.

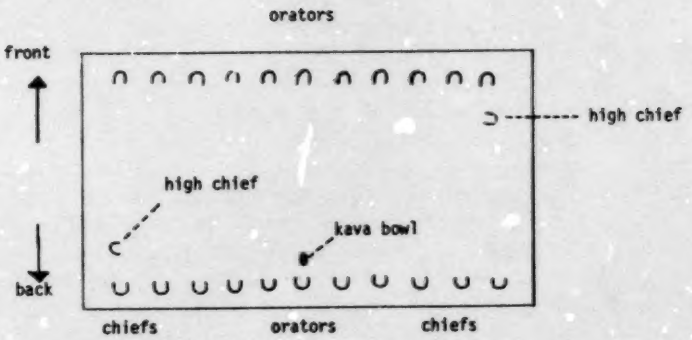

FIG. 1

Seating arrangement of matai in a fono

The symbol ⊂" (which is taken from child language transcription procedures, cf. Reilly, Zukow & Greenfield, ms.; and Ochs 1979) indicates the direction of pelvis (bird's eye view) and, therefore, people's positions with respect to each other and the possible reach of their eye gaze.

As for internal temporal boundaries, we can take, as an example, the distinction between lāuga and talanoaga. Right after the kava a particular subvillage[6] will deliver the first speech of the day, a lāuga. After this speech, either other lāuga follow (one for each of the subvillages represented at the meeting) or the discussion (talanoaga) starts. In Fig. 2 below, internal boundaries are represented along the TIME axis:

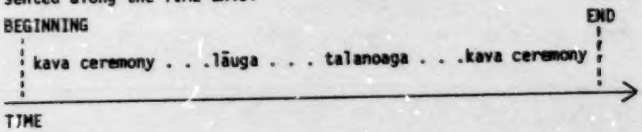

FIG. 2

Internal temporal boundaries on the event.

6

(b) Time. Fono take place in the morning, usually on a Saturday (but other days may also be chosen), probably to allow people who work in the capital to participate. These fono do not take place regularly, but are instead called only if some important matter must be discussed (other types of fono, like, for instance, the fono o le pulenu'u take place every other week, on Mondays, regardless of the particular issues to be discussed).

(c) Norms of etiquette. Several norms must be followed by the participants in both their verbal and non-verbal behavior. Since I will discuss the verbal behavior at length in the rest of the paper, I will limit myself here to mention a few non-verbal norms: (i) Everyone sits on mats and cross-legged (chiefs, but not orators, are allowed to put one foot on the other leg's thigh (napevae), and only while they are not delivering a speech). (ii) Only for a ceremonial reason a person may walk across the internal "circle" of matai (e.g. in the distribution of kava). (iii) If someone who is sitting in the front row wants to give something to someone else of those present, he must call upon some untitled man from outside the house or a matai of low rank from the back row to deliver the object from one matai to the other.

(d) Reasons for a fono. A fono is called when a breach of some social norm has taken place or is about to; such a breach involving some social relation between individuals or groups (e.g. families, subvillages). A crisis or a conflict makes the village "weak" according to the Samoan worldview, and it ruins the "beauty" of the village. The "love for each-other" (fealofani)must be restored. This process, among other ways, takes the form of a fono, in which the trouble-sources are discussed and certain measures are taken by the matai, who represent all the families and people of the village, to remedy the misconduct of those who violated the social rules and alliances.

(e) Goals and outcomes. Following Hymes's suggestion (cf. Hymes 1972:61), a distinction must be made between the goals of (some of) the individuals engaged in the interaction within a fono, and the outcomes of that interaction from the point of view of the community. Personal ambition or rivalry among powerful members of the community may be in the background of the convocation of a fono; however, what the society as a whole gets

out of these meetings may be independent from and beyond the particular goals of some individuals (the need for such a distinction was first pointed out to me by Edward Schieffelin, p.c.). From the society's point of view, the fono is the place for restating secular alliances and values; it is also the time in which the social structure and the ties with the tradition are challenged, and more or less important changes in the social norms may be affirmed.

2. Verbal interaction in the fono: an overall view.

In this section I will describe some of the main features that distinguish verbal interaction in the fono from verbal interaction among the same individuals before the event starts, or in other, less planned, types of activity. All the characteristics of speech that I will list below must be understood as belonging to both lāuga and talanoaga, the two types of speech that I will discuss after this section. (For examples of interaction among matai before the fono starts, see the Appendix).

2.1 Turn-taking rules.[7]

(a) In a fono, speakers' turns are pre-allocated up to a number which is predictable from the situation (cf. Duranti, op. cit.).

It is important to stress here that I am using the term "turn" in a different way from what is meant in Conversation Analysis (cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), and more in the way the term has been used by Duncan (1974). Such a difference is, in great part, a function of the fact that the kind of verbal exchange which goes on in the fono is, in many ways, structurally different from conversation. I propose to use another term, namely "macro-turn", in order to characterize the difference from and, at the same time, maintain the relationship with "turns in conversation." See points (b) and (c) below as possible reasons for a notion of "macro-turn."

(b) Within one's speech (macro-turn), predictable responses are elicited from the audience [all of which convey agreement, e.g. mālie! "nicely (said)"]. This is the most common environment for brief overlap.

(c) It is always the case that, after the audience has given the requested feedback (cf. the use of mālie!), the one who is "delivering the speech" will reselect himself, unless his last utterance conveys the message "end of my speech." (The most common formula is "manuia le aofio ma le fono!",

which may be translated as "best wishes to the assembly and the council!" or "long life . . . "). If the person has terminated his speech, the audience will not answer mālie!, but instead, will thank him for his speech, e.g. mālō fetalai! (For an orator), or mālō saunoa! (For a chief), mālō vagana! (for one of the two senior orators). They could all be translated as "congratulations for (your) speech!"

(d) Gaps between (macro) turns are generally longer than between turns in conversation (this may be a characteristic of "macro-turns").

(e) Overwhelmingly, parties self-select in starting to talk.[8]

(f) Once a party has started, there are no "second starters." This must be understood as "nobody else will compete with him for the floor, if the current speaker has right to speak at that particular time." Thus, for instance, at the beginning of the fono people must speak in a pre-arranged order. If one person violates that order by self-selecting himself at an inappropriate time (as happened once in a fono I recorded), another person (who has the authority to do so) may interrupt the current speaker to re-establish the proper procedure. Furthermore, there are cases in which someone else may start to talk after a person has started to deliver his speech, but this would not be sensed as "competitive" with the on-going speech, although it might be competitive in terms of focus of the interaction. Here a distinction may be drawn between "on stage" and "off stage" participants, a feature of the event which can also be captured by referring to what I call the physical boundaries. If someone talks while another person is giving a speech, this is more likely to happen among those matai who sit in the back of the house than among those who are sitting in the front. Among those who sit in the back of the house, there is more a tendency for those sitting in a second back row, if there is one, (see Fig. 3). Such "off stage" or "back stage" interaction would not be immediately perceived as competitive with the on-going speech. This back stage talk is in a much lower volume than the official speaker's voice, and it usually lasts a relatively short time. It also tends to occur towards the beginning and the end of the meeting, but not in the middle of it, when the discussion is more alive and less predictable. Notice the symmetry, with respect to this phenomenon, between the physical and temporal boundaries. Talk that overlaps with the official speech tends to occur at the external physical and temporal boundaries.

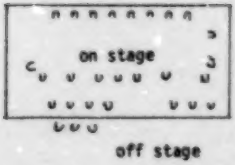

FIG. 3
On stage/off stage participants.

2.2 The language of the fono.

Before illustrating some of the aspects of the language of the fono, I must warn the reader that those features I will describe should not be considered as exclusively found in the fono. Discussing the lexicon, for instance, Shore (1977, 1980) lists several contexts of typical and appropriate use of the so-called "respect vocabulary," and the fono is only one of the possible contexts. A point that I must stress here, however, is that the fono is a situation in which the respect vocabulary is used over an extended period of time and with consistency (I am thinking here of the "code consistency" described by Irvine (1979) as one of the four characteristics of "formality"). Furthermore, I am not only interested in the lexicon, but in all the possible aspects of linguistic behavior that go along with the lexicon in matai-interaction.

2.2.1 Lexicon.

Under the heading "lexicon" we must distinguish, at least, between words and expressions that are used in talking (a) "about" matai, and (b) "to" matai. Both of these subcategorizations, however, must be understood as involving the notion of "speech event," meant here as " a kind of activity in which people are verbally interacting with each other." Thus, the selection of one word (or expression) over another is not simply a function of the referent (e.g. whether a chief or an untitled man), but it is dependent on the particular speech event. (Some of the possible conditioning factors in the selection of one lexical item over another have been pointed out by Keenan (1971) in discussing what he calls pragmatic presupposition".)

(a) Within the first category (words "about" matai) a further distinction must be drawn between words or expressions referring to matai in general (and in opposition with untitled men), and linguistic expressions distinguishing between two (or more) statuses (viz. chief versus orator) (cf. Milner 1961). Ex.: See, for instance, example (1) in the Appendix, A asks where Iuli (one of the two senior orators of the village) is. C answers E ma ke le'i feiloa'i . . . "we (he and I) did not meet . . . " If C had been giving a speech in the fono, it would have been appropriate to use a compound word made out of a verb silasila "to see, look at" which is used when the one who sees is a matai (either a chief or an orator), and he would have said fesilasilafa'i also meaning "meet."

In Ex. (2) in the Appendix, A asks B whether a certain orator (Mata'afa) from another village has arrived. Here A uses the word sau "come, arrive." This is a word that we would not expect when referring to an orator. He should deserve the verb maliu (mai). Later on, the same speaker, when Mata'afa has arrived, uses the word maliu mai in his first speech. In the same context, we also find the word afio mai, which also means "come," but talking about a chief.

(Fono April 7, p. 47, book I):

A. Ia. o lea ua lua afio mai Tevaseu maliu mai fo'i Mata'afa.
Now you both come Tevaseu come also Mata'afa
(PAUSE) Ma o la'u fesili muamua aku lava . . .
and my question first (to you) very
"A: Well, now you have both arrived, Chief Tevaseu and orator Mata'afa. And my very first question to you is . . . "

One semantic notion in which we find three different lexical items distinguishing among (i) orators; (ii) chiefs, and (iii) senior orator (matua) is "to talk," in the sense of "to give a speech." The word fetalai is used for orators, the word saunoa for chiefs, and the word vagana for either one of the two senior orators.

Another factor is whether the speaker is referring to himself or not. Generally, a matai must be humble in referring to himself (with the possible exception of very high rank matai). The distinction between talking about oneself and talking about other matai is a typical environment for the use of couplets, triplets, etc. (see below).

It is interesting that, despite the ergative-absolutive type of nominal case marking that characterizes Samoan, the lexical selection of a particular verb is governed by what in a nominative-accusative system would be called the "subject" (of both intransitive and transitive verbs), namely, the Agent of transitive verbs and the Subject of intransitive verbs.[9] Furthermore, there seem to be very few cases of lexical subcategorization governed by the Object of a transitive verb (the only ones I can think of are, in fact, complex causative verbs, in which one may argue that the object is, at a more abstract level of analysis, the subject of the "embedded" predicate, e.g. fa'ataumafa "to feed", which is made out of the causative prefix fa'a- and the verb taumafa "to eat" used for matai eating, but inappropriate if talking about untitled men).

(b) Words "to" matai. This kind of restriction is more complex and subtle than the one discussed under (a). It may also involve topics that should be avoided and not only words or expressions. A typical kind of expression that would be considered as rude if used talking to matai in a formal setting such as the fono is ta'ilo, which very roughly means "who knows?" or "I don't know and I don't care to know" (cf. Mead 1928:253). Notice that this expression is used by one of the orators in the interaction before the fono, in ex. (2) in the Appendix. Here again, we have an instance of a word used outside the temporal boundaries of the event, but inappropriate within the event (viz. fono). (As in the case of trying to be humble in referring to oneself, we must make some exceptions here, for very high rank matai, who have a special (leading) role in the event).

2.2.1.1 Use of couplets. Despite the fact that the term "couplets" has been mostly used in referring to two entire "lines" in that rhetorical figure that Jakobson (1968) has called "parallelism,"[10] I am extending the use of this term to cover pairs of single words, phrases and separate sentences. "Couplets" are then two different linguistic expressions that complement each other by distinguishing between two categories among the audience (or between the speaker and the rest of the people present). An example is provided in (1):

(. . .) Ia. Ou'ugu'u ia le alofa o le Atua i aga asiasiga.

(1.0) O lo'o fa'akasmafakia (1.5) le (af-) afio'aga o

'Āiga (0.7) ma le alaalafaga o oulua makua ma le 'a'ai

o Pogokī,

"So. (I) leave the thanksgiving to God to His servants [i.e. pastors] (who) are feeding (with prayers) the village of (the) Family (of chiefs) and the village of the two senior orators and (of) the people of (the king) Fonotī."

In this example [from a speech (lāuga) in a fono], the speaker distinguishes between the two statuses of chiefs and of orators by using the term afio'aga "village (of chiefs)" and the term alaalafaga, also meaning "village," but referring to orators.

2.2.1.2 Use of triplets. A distinction among three different statuses produces a triplet. In the example below, the three expressions used by the orator do not convey the same meaning, but have the same pragmatic force:

(4) (Fono January 25, p. 60) (The speechmaker is towards the end of his speech and wishes a prosperous life to the people present. In so doing, he uses three different expressions and images for the three categories: (i) chiefs ('Āiga); (ii) senior orators (Iuli and Moe'ono); (iii) the rest of the orators (tofi fa'asolo i le nuu i lo tatou nu'u)

U.: *Ia. Maguia oukou 'Āiga, (0.5) ia- ia 'aua fo'i ga'i*

fa'avaivai ia- (0.3) Iuli ma Moe'ogo'ogo (0.8) ia nuu

le gofo fealofagi i le- (0.2) i le kofi fa'asolo i

le nuu i lo kokou gu'u. Ia. Soifua!

"So. (May) you chiefs be fortunate, Iuli and Moe'ono'ono don't be discouraged. May you all holding the titles (of orators) of our village live loving each other! Well, soifua!"

The three images are (i) maniu ("fortune, health") to the chiefs ('Āiga), (ii) 'aua fo'i ne'i fa 'avaivai ["don't also let (yourselves) be discouraged"] to the two senior orators (Iuli and Moe'ono'ono), (iii) nuu le nofo fealofagi ("let the living loving each other") to the orators in the whole village (tofi fa'asolo i le nuu i lo tatou nu'u). As in example (1) above, here too the three expressions are inserted in the ceremonial greeting of the village (fa'alupega).

2.2.1.3 Quadruplets. Quadruplets are also found any time a speaker would use two expressions for the same category.

2.2.1.4 Figurative language. Metaphors are used throughout the speech for different purposes/meanings (see examples in couplets, triplets, above). There are different metaphors associated with different parts of the speech. E.G. there are expressions that refer to God's power over mortals and must be said in the "thanksgiving" (fa'afetai) part of the speech.
Ex.: Fa'i le matua fa'i le moto. Lit. "pick up [from the tree] the ripe one, pick up the unripe one," meaning "it's not just the old one (=ripe) who dies, but also the young one (=unripe)" (therefore we must praise God if we are here now. There is no way to predict who will die, at any moment).

E 'ausaga le tu 'a'ao. Lit. "the swimmers cannot touch (with) their feet" or "if it wasn't because of God's help and love, we would be like swimmers in deep water, who cannot touch with their feet and would soon be drowned."

2.2.2 Morpho-syntax.

I will list here only a few examples of the way in which the morphology and syntax of speeches in the fono differ from the morphology and syntax of Samoan in conversation. This comparison is still in progress and what is presented here must be taken as a preliminary survey.

(a) Generally, in the fono speeches there are more sentences with "full constituents" than in conversation, which is characterized by very frequent "deletion" of major arguments of the verb.

(b) Frequent use of third person expressions for first person referents. These expressions convey information on the status or rank of the referent. Ex.: lo'u tagata "my person," lo'u nei to'oto'o "this (orator's) stick of mine" (=me, an orator), etc.

(c) More frequent use of the so-called transitive -Cia suffix on verbs

The function of this suffix has been difficult to assess (cf. Chung 1978; Milner 1962, 1973).

Tuitele, Sāpolu and Kneubuhl (1978) point out that the -Cia suffix is not typical nowadays of conversational Samoan, but can still be found.

A comparison of the language of the fono with conversational interaction reveals the following facts: (i) -Cia is rare in conversation and usually restricted to the environments predicted by Chung (1978). (ii) In the fono, -Cia is more common and is also found in some grammatical environments not predicted by Chung (1978).

(d) Sentence subordination is more clearly marked in the fono speeches than in conversation (cf. Givón 1979 for the notions of "tight subordination" and "loose subordination").

2.2.3 Phonology.

Phonemic inventory. Samoan exhibits the possibility of two different sets of phonemes, according to the speech-context in which it is used. In one variety, there is an opposition between /t/ and /k/, and between /n/ and /ŋ/ (written g). In the other variety, these two contrasts are neutralized (see also fn. 1). With the exception of a few individual words or parts of words in some speeches, the fono verbal interactions show a consistency of /k/ and /ŋ/ across the whole lexicon. This fact is consistent with the claim that /t/ and /n/ are found in Western-bound activities (e.g. church, school, radio, written Samoan, etc.), but are not appropriate for traditionally Samoan activities (cf. Shore 1977, 1980).

3.0 LĀUGA and TALANOAGA: a native distinction.

In section 2 above we have seen several features that characterize fono speeches as a whole and distinguish them from verbal interaction among matai before (and, to some extent, after) the meeting. (It is conceivable that differences may be even more striking if we were to compare the fono speeches with informal conversation among non-matai members of the community in informal situations).

In this section, I will show that despite the similarities described above, native speakers[11] make a distinction between two types of fono speeches: (1) lāuga and (2) talanoaga. I will give in 3.1 the native criteria for such a distinction. Furthermore, I will discuss the role of "context" in defining the particular genre and its features.

The term "lāuga" usually refers to a formal speech performed by an orator in a ceremonial context. What I mean by "usually" is that if, for instance, one was going to ask a Samoan what a lāuga is or what it sounds like, the most typical answer would be an example of a ceremonial speech (and not of a lāuga in a fono). The term "talanoaga," in turn, outside the fono-context refers to a "conversation," or to a "chat," being the nominalization of the verb talanoa "to chat, make conversation talk" (Milner 1966:233). The meaning of these two terms must be reinterpreted within the fono. This is the sense in which the speech event acts as a "frame" with respect to the speech genre. It is the fact of being in

in a fono that defines a certain speech as a lāuga and another speech as a talanoaga. Although reference to the other possible contexts of these two genres is also necessary.

Before exposing the native criteria for the distinction, I must add a few words on something that at first may sound like a contradiction of what I have been saying so far, but, in fact, it reaffirms the main point of this paper, namely, the context-bound nature of speech-genres, their existing as contiguous and still distinguishable, given certain premises.

Sometimes, someone may use the term "lāuga" in referring to a talanoaga in the fono. This is a non-technical use of the term "lāuga," and it simply stresses the fact that both lāuga and talanoaga can be conceived of as one genre if compared to other talk, outside the fono-context (e.g. a "chat"). In other words, Samoans see a talanoaga in a fono as much more "lāuga-like" than "chat-like," and this confirms our original intuitions that the organization and structure of talk across the whole fono has something in common and distinct from talk outside the fono. I have tried to capture the continuity and difference between the two genres in Fig. 4 below:

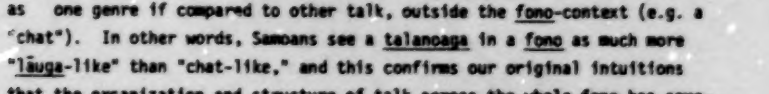

FIG. 4
Lāuga and talanoaga across contexts.

3.1 The native criteria for the distinction.

What are the criteria by which lāuga and talanoaga in a fono can be distinguished? As in the case of the Yakan litigation discussed by Frake (1973), the physical setting could not indicate the difference or the passage from one type to the other.

The basic criteria[12] by which native speakers distinguish the two types of speech are the following:

(A) TOPIC CHOICE
(B) SEQUENTIAL ORDER

(A) TOPIC CHOICE. In a lāuga the agenda of the meeting is mentioned, but it cannot be discussed. Speakers cannot express their opinion on the matter. This can be done only in the talanoaga, or discussion part of the fono; and talanoaga is also the term used for a speech given in this part of the meeting.

(B) SEQUENTIAL ORDERING. Once a fono starts, first come one or more lāuga[13], then follow talanoaga. Once the "discussion" has started there can be no more lāuga.

The end of lāuga and the beginning of talanoaga is announced by one of the two senior orators with a special formula (fa'auso le fono), cf. (3) in the Appendix. Furthermore, at the beginning of a speech that is not a lāuga, a speaker may remind the audience of the fact that he is going just to discuss, talk, and not perform a lāuga. He would then use expressions such as tātou talatalanoa "let's talk," or ou te tautala atu "I am (going to) talk; I am (just) talking." This is a way of "keying" his performance, that is, of saying how the audience should interpret his words. By saying "I am just talking," the speaker is saying "do not take my speech as a lāuga, that is, do not expect me to respect the format and rules of lāuga, but instead, expect me to tell you what I think."

On the basis of such native distinction, I have re-examined the transcripts of the fono speeches looking for some further support. Despite all the similarities described above, in section 2, I have found some interesting differences in the organization of talk (turn-taking) and in the grammar. The preliminary results are reported below, in section 3.1.1.

3.1.1 Further differences between lāuga and talanoaga.

I will describe the differences between lāuga and talanoaga along the same lines as I described their similarities in 2.

(a) Turn-taking:

(i) The set of potential speakers varies from lāuga to talanoaga. Only orators who are sitting in the front row can give a lāuga. Anyone (chiefs and orators sitting in the front or in the back) can participate in the discussion.

(ii) Overlaps and competition for the floor. In the talanoaga part of the fono overlaps are more likely to occur along with some competition for the floor.

For instance, if someone gets "carried away" with his speech and is too harsh, another matai may interrupt him and take over the floor.

(iii) Question-Answer pairs: Only in a talanoaga do question-answer pairs occur. They may fall in either one of the following two categories: (a) a momentary "side sequence" (e.g. before going on with the discussion, the senior orator who is chairing the meeting may interrupt his talanoaga to ask someone in the audience whether so-and-so has been officially informed of the meeting; or who was in charge of the message, etc.); (b) within a talanoaga speech, a person may ask a question involving one of the matai present. In this case, the latter may subsequently answer in his speech, or ask permission, during a pause, to answer immediately.

(iv) In addition to the use of the word malie! [see (c) in 2.1] as an elicited response within one's speech, which is common in lāuga, the word mo'i "true, right" is also found during a talanoaga as an expression of agreement with what the speaker is saying. Notice that this fact per se points out a difference in focus between the two kinds of speech. It marks a shift from FORM to CONTENT.

(v) When more than one lāuga is performed in a fono, each speaker must thank and/or acknowledge all the previous speakers. This is usually done by starting from the last one and then going back to the first one, followed by the second, and so on. When giving a talanoaga, instead, the speaker may thank the speaker immediately before him and some important matai who had spoken before, but there is no predictable norm.

(b) Lexicon:

(i) In terms of the register being used, some "slips" into ordinary language, "vulgar" expressions, may occur in the talanoaga, but not in a lāuga (e.g. okaoka! an expression of surprise).

(ii) In the talanoaga proverbs are used to picture a situation or to express a concern. Since they are associated with "opinions" or "viewpoints," they are more frequent in talanoaga.

(c) Morpho-syntax:

Along with recognitions as well as denunciation of actions accomplished (or intended) by some of the powerful figures of the community, more constructions with ergative markers appear in the talanoaga (as in a trial, it seems important in a fono to specify "who did what").

(d) Oratory style: From mostly homiletic ("reinforcement of what is already known," cf. Firth 1974:42) in the lāuga, the oratory becomes also persuasive and manipulative in the talanoaga (see Firth op. cit. for those categories).

(e) Forms of reference:

Whereas in a lāuga, only matai's titles are used to refer to people who are matai (who are also the only individuals in the community that are talked about in a fono), in a talanoaga it is also possible to hear, at times, somebody's untitled name being used. This fact probably relates to a shift from lāuga to talanoaga with respect to the opposition "title: individual." In the introductory, ceremonial speeches, reference is made only to titles as historical mythical figures, that have a life of their own, independently from the specific persons who hold those titles at any given time. In the talanoaga, instead, along with the recall of some more recent, specific event, people show an interest in other people's actions, and their individual identity.

3.2 Talanoaga in and out of the fono.

The differences between talanoaga in the fono and outside the fono are more or less captured by the description of the fono verbal interaction given in section 2. above. Despite the fact that the talanoaga in the fono shares some features with more informal verbal interaction (e.g. a few expressions typical of casual talk, question-answer pairs, some "stories," etc.), it is still very different from what is usually considered a conversation, a chat. Thus, we could say that the talanoaga in a fono is a type of speech that shares many features with the lāuga (cf. 2.), but it "tends towards" more colloquial Samoan, without, however, ever completely overlapping with the way people would interact in a casual conversation.

3.3 Lāuga in the fono and lāuga in ceremonies.

Despite the fact that the lāuga in the fono and the lāuga performed in ceremonies share some very basic common features, they are also, in some respects, different.

The common features of lāuga in the two contexts have mostly to do with the structure of the speech, its lexicon and sequential organization.

There is a basic structure that a lāuga must qualify for. Some variations are allowed (either personal or contextual). A lāuga has a certain

number of "parts" (vaega) (and, in fact, there are even further subdivisions within each part, which I will not mention here): (1) Folasaga or "introduction,"; (2) 'ava or "kava"'; (3) fa'afetai or "thanksgiving"; (4) pa'ia or "dignity of the chiefs"; taeao (lit. "morning") or "recount of important events in the history of Samoa"; (6) 'auga o le aso "reason for the gathering"; (7) fa'amatafi lagi (lit. "clearing of the sky") or "wishes of good and long life." Despite some variations across different speechmakers and on different occasions, some parts are mandatory and follow the order given above (for instance, the pa'ia may come after the taeao, but a speech must end with the fa'amatafi lagi; the folasaga may be left out, but every lāuga must contain the fa'afetai or "thanksgiving to God").

Each of the above mentioned parts is made out of an arbitrary number of expressions, mostly metaphors, taken from a very rich corpus transmitted orally over the centuries from one generation of matai to the next.

3.3.1 Differences between lāuga in ceremonies and lāuga in fono.

I will now list, and subsequently discuss, eleven major differences between lāuga performed in a ceremony and lāuga performed in a fono. The data on the lāuga in ceremonies consist of transcripts of two different kinds of ceremonies (a faaipo, exchange of dowry and bride wealth, and a saofa'i, the installation of new matai), participant observation of several other ceremonial encounters (e.g. malaga, exchange of gifts between a traveling party and their hosts), and interviews with speechmakers in the village on the content and significance of the speeches.

(CEREMONY):	(FONO):
1. Before the lāuga, there is a debate (called fa'atau) among the orators present, in order to decide who will give the speech. This discussion may be a pure formality lasting only a few minutes, or a very long and complex negotiation.	1. There is no debate. Orators who wish to speak sit in the front row, usually one orator for each sub-village.

2. The number of lāuga is known beforehand (usually the two "sides" or parties, e.g. hosts and guests deliver one speech each).	2. The number of lāuga may vary, according to two factors: (i) how many sub-villages are represented in the fono; (ii) whether the chairperson decides to start the discussion immediately after the first lāuga.
3. The one who delivers the lāuga must be a recognized, skillful (poto) speechmaker (this is guaranteed by the fact that he was good enough to win the debate at the beginning - see (1) above.)	3. The one who delivered the lāuga for a given sub-village, may not be a recognized skillful speechmaker.
4. People evaluate the "beauty" of the speech, its form (see Keenan 1974, for a compatible Malagasy example). In Bauman's terms, the lāuga is in the domain of "performance" in a more obvious way than in the case of the fono. People usually talk, after the ceremony, about the lāuga that were performed and express evaluations.	4. The lāuga is not talked about subsequently. There is much less emphasis on the act as a display of oratorical skills.
5. The speech performance represents an agreement of some sort already reached, or, anyhow, is thought of as "concluding" some event (e.g. a visit)	5. The lāuga is a prelude to a possible confrontation. Agreement among the different parties may or may not be reached.
6. The speech is usually addressed to a subgroup of the village's matai and families.	6. The speech is addressed always to the whole village, or even to the whole district. This is symbolized by the enunciation of the full version of the ceremonial address (fa'alupega), which mentions all the important titles (cf. Duranti in preparation, ch. 5).

7. The speechmaker may be formally interrupted (seu) at a certain (relatively predictable) point, and he may have to shorten his speech (e.g. to stop the speechmaker from mentioning genealogies (gafa) which should not be recited publicly).[14]	7. The speechmaker cannot be formally interrupted, although he may be actually stopped for any number of reasons. Interruptions are perceived as violation of the norms, and not as part of the ceremonial dynamics.
8. Once the speech is over, no parts are added or repeated. It is assumed that speechmakers do not make mistakes, or that his mistakes cannot be repaired by others.	8. If the speechmaker has not mentioned the agenda of the day (or has not done so properly), the chair of the meeting may ask him, after the speech is over, to "repair" by announcing the agenda (or doing it in more precise terms).
9. There is no specific part of the speech entirely dedicated to the fuller version of the ceremonial address to the village.	9. There is a specific and fundamental part of the speech that is dedicated to the ceremonial greeting to the village (see 6.).
10. The speech is usually delivered in a very distinct voice quality and in high volume.	10. The voice quality reminds only at times of the lāuga delivered in a ceremony. Both the pitch and the volume are not as high. The general tone or style of the speech resembles more the way the debate before the lāuga in a ceremony is conducted.
11. There is compensation for the speechmaker (e.g. money, a fine mat).	11. There is no compensation for the speechmaker.

All of these differences can be accounted for by considering two factors: (i) the focus of the event in which the lāuga is being delivered; and (ii) the role of the lāuga in the event. In fact, not only are the speeches

different in different social situations, but also speakers'/participants' expectations with respect to the speech vary from one event to another.

A ceremony marks a change in somebody's status; it is a rite de passa e.g., from unmarried to married, from untitled to titled (matai), from alive to dead (a funeral ceremony). The ceremony both represents and is t change of status.[15] Someone in the community enters in the event with one status and comes out with another. In the case of an exchange of dow and bridewealth, or in the case of an investiture of a new matai (saofa'i) the ceremony is the public announcement of an agreement that has been reached by two or more parties (e.g., two families, different lines in the descent groups). Such an announcement takes its verbal form in the lāuga that will be delivered. The village will know from that speech that those two families are now related, or that a certain man is not just a normal person anymore, he is a chief, a sacred person. A ceremonial lāuga says all of these things and more than that. It goes back in time to the eternal values of the community, to the names of the sacred and mythical figur of the ancestors who founded the village or the whole country.

The ceremonial lāuga is the most sophisticated form of verbal art in Samoa. It is the time for the best speechmakers to display their eloquenc their knowledge, their skills. The lāuga in a ceremony is the socially recognized domain of "performance" par excellence, in the sense in which this dimension has been defined by Bauman (1977:11):

> . . . performance as a mode of spoken verbal communication consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. . . Performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content. From the point of view of the audience, the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's display of competence.

With respect to these characteristics, the lāuga in a fono differs from a ceremonial lāuga. There is no real competition for who should deliver the speech; people do not usually comment on the speech after the event is over; there is no immediate compensation for the speechmaker. Lāuga in the fono do not stand on their own. They are a prelude to something else. Their role is to partly define the event and the participants (see point 6. above), to greet the assembly, and to prepare the atmosphere for the more important and difficult moments to come, namely, the debate

and confrontation among the matai about some particularly important issue. The lāuga itself, in a fono, is not the focus nor the c'imax of the social event. While the speechmaker routinely enunciates those very same expressions that are characteristic of a lāuga in a ceremony, people around him are hardly listening; they cannot enjoy his performance, because they are concentrating on what will come next, preparing themselves psychologically for the discussion, thinking of their speech (talanoaga), of the position that they should take, and the consequences of leaning more on one side or the other.

It is then the nature of the speech event, its social and cultural significance, that determines the form, meaning, and the connotations of a lāuga. Within the same genre, namely the lāuga, variation is not only possible, but expected, to fit the needs of the participants in the event.

4. Conclusions.

In this paper, I have discussed several ways in which the speech event may constitute a "frame" for performing and interpreting a particular speech genre. In the fono, the meetings of chiefs and orators, in a Samoan village, both the organization of verbal interaction and the particular kind of language that is used by the participants is very distinct from what goes on in conversation among the same individuals (before the fono starts; and even more different in other social situations). The turn-taking rules are different, the lexicon is specially suited for talking "about" matai and "to" matai. Different terms and expressions are used for differentiating among statuses and ranks of the people addressed or referred to. Even the morphology and syntax of the language exhibits some distinctive characteristics. All of these facts make the event and the people who participate in it very special, different from other events and from other individuals in the community. However, within the event itself, native (competent) speakers differentiate between two different types of speech: (1) lāuga and (2) talanoaga. I discussed in 3.1 the native criteria for such a distinction. Furthermore, I also pointed out some other differences that can be found once the native distinction has been clarified (3.1.1).

In the rest of the paper, I show that the terms used for this important distinction in the fono speeches (lāuga and talanoaga) also refer to types of speech found outside the fono. What interested me here was that

their meaning inside and outside the fono do not perfectly match. A lāuga in a fono is quite different from a lāuga in a ceremony, and the talanoaga in the fono is quite different from a casual conversation or discussion outside the fono (also called talanoaga). We need then again the speech event as a "key" to interpreting these genres in each case. In 3.3, I gave a list of several important differences between a lāuga in a fono and a lāuga in a ceremony. I also discussed those differences and explained them on the basis of the different nature of the social event in which they are performed. I employed in so doing, the notion of "verbal art as performance" in the sense suggested by Bauman (1977). I showed that, despite their structural similarities, the fono-lāuga and the ceremony-lāuga are both performed by the speechmaker and perceived by the audience in a different way. The social and cultural significance of the speech event (fono vs. ceremony) were used to explain the differences. The speech event is again the "frame" for performing and interpreting language.

NOTES

1. The research on which this paper is based was partially supported by a National Science Foundation Grant (No .53-482-2480- Elinor Ochs principal investigator) and by Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche in Rome, Italy. While writing the paper I was supported by the Linguistics Department of the University of Southern California. I would like to thank Elinor Ochs for her constant support and constructive criticism during our field work and thereafter. Many people in the village where we were living and conducting our research project helped us in many different ways and made our work and our participation in the village life possible. In particular, I wish to thank Rev. Fa'atau'oloa Mauala and his wife Sauiluma, who accepted our research group as part of their family and helped us throughout our whole experience. I also learned a great deal about Samoan language and culture from several matai in the village, who shared with me their knowledge and experience of the fa'aSāmoa. In particular, I would like to thank Iuli Sefo, Lua Veni, Savea Savelio, and Tula'i Tino.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. I wish to thank Richard Bauman, Edward Finegan, Prof. G. B. Milner, and Bradd Shore for some very helpful comments on the earlier drafts.

Transcription Conventions:

Samoan, as often happens in languages, is most of the time spoken in a different fashion from the way it is written. The most striking difference between spoken and written language is that they have two different sets of phonemes. In the written language (as well as in some registers of the spoken related to "Western culture," e.g. school, church, talking to strangers, etc., cf. Shore 1977, 1980) Samoan has an opposition between /t/ and /k/, and /n/ and /ŋ/, e.g. tī "tea" and kī "key," tinā "mother" and tigā (tiŋaa/) "hurts." In the spoken language, both in formal and informal interaction (cf. fono vs. conversation), those words that have a t in the written have a k in its place, and those words that have an n have a g (the Samoan orthographic convention for velar nasal /ŋ/). Thus the word kī can mean either "tea" or "key," and kigā can either mean

"mother" or "hurts." I will keep with the tradition by writing words out of context in their "citation" form, that is, in the t-pronunciation. At the same time, I will leave the k-pronunciation in the transcripts, if that was the original way in which words were uttered. The apostrophe (') stands for a glottal stop (/ʔ/) and the g, as already said, for a velar nasal (/ŋ/). My transcription of Samoan is a sort of compromise between a phonetic and a phonemic one. I tried to keep close, as much as I could, to the Samoan orthography (cf. Milner 1966), and I did not mark certain redundant features such as, for instance, geminate consonants. But, at the same time, I have not marked glottal stops and long vowel (which are written with a macron, e.g. ā, ē, ī, etc.) when I did not hear them, despite the fact that they would show up in (some versions of) the written language.

In the transcripts I have used mostly the conventions of Conversation Analysis (see Appendix in Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). The double solidus (//) indicates the point at which the speaker's talk is overlapped by another participant's. This convention is usually accompanied by a long single bracket at the point of overlap, with the utterance of the intervening party placed beneath. Talk between parentheses indicates I was not sure of the transcription. Empty parentheses indicate that no reasonable guess was possible. Some information about the context is put between double parentheses (()). I have also used parentheses in the English translation to mark linguistic information which is not overtly available in the Samoan utterance. Brackets are, at times, used for conveying some extra information on some of the terms used by the speakers, if they need a particularly "rich" interpretation. Some more specific information about the social organization of the village and some key-terms will eventually be available in my Ph.D. thesis (Duranti in preparation).

2. " . . . a frame is metacommunicative. Any message, which either explicitly or implicitly defines a frame, ipso facto gives the receiver instructions or aids in his attempt to understand the messages included within the frame." (Bateson 1955, reprinted in Bateson 1972:188).

3. The characteristics of the fono that I will describe in this paper are the ones that I have observed in one village (Falefā). I am aware of the fact that a certain degree of variation should be expected from one village to another or from one island to another. Some of the variations should be

predictable on the basis of the social structure of a particular place (e.g. whether it is thought of as "one and indivisible" village, or as a conglomerate of several "sub-villages"); other features may be idiosyncratic of one particular place and perhaps not found in any other place. Only further research in other locations in the country (in addition to the literature already available, cf. Shore 1977; Freeman 1978) will provide the necessary basis for a detailed comparative analysis of the fono, one of the most important social events in the Samoan society.

4. In Falefā, there are two special titles, called matua (translated by Samoans themselves as "parents," although the word for "parents" has a long a, mātua), which give their holders some special status, either "in between" or "beyond" the traditional distinction between orator (tulāfale) and chief (ali'i). Although they are referred to as tōfā (e.g. lau tōfā i le matua lulī . . .), the term used for orators, they share several of the chiefs' privileges. In the fono, one of the two matua chairs the meeting, and they both seem to have enough prestige and authority to even order or scold very high rank chiefs (on the special role of the two matua, cf. my dissertation, ch. 3 and ch. 4; for a discussion of the matua in another village, on the Island of Savai'i, cf. Shore 1977).

5. The "front" of the house is established on the basis of an external point of reference, namely the road or the malae, depending on the way the house has been built and the place in the village where it is located.

6. The first round of speeches in the fono is always the same, and it follows a rule that says something like "one speech from each sub-village, in the following order, first . . . " The number of the sub-villages may vary, from four (the minimal number) to seven, or even more if the whole district gets together.

7. I am using here the pioneer work by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974: Shegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977) as a fundamental point of reference in my account of Samoan verbal interaction. The points I am illustrating here are only a few, and a more detailed analysis of the systematics of the fono speeches will be possible only after a deeper analysis of the turn-taking of Samoan conversation, which I have just started.

8. Before starting to talk, speakers may signal their intention to talk by a readjustment of their body posture and a clearing of their voice. They may also look at any other potential speaker for the next turn, trying to spot any signs that would indicate that person's intention to speak next. There is also a verbal cue that signals a person's decision to speak and affirms his intention to hold the "vacant" floor (i.e. ua:- "so, well," followed by a brief pause).

9. I owe these observations to John Hawkins, who first pointed out to me the possibility of this kind of implications.

10. Cf. Bauman (1977) for further references to several works on parallelism in different contexts and across different cultures.

11. The category "native speaker" is, in fact, too broad here, given that many native speakers in the community may not be able to make such a distinction. To be more accurate, I should say "a subgroup of the adult population, roughly coinciding with the matai of the village." I must say "roughly" because not all the matai have similar access to the same amount of information concerning Samoan oratory and norms of etiquette in a specific social situation. Furthermore, there are probably adult members of the population who are not matai who would be able to make this as well as other distinctions with respect to the language used in the fono and in ceremonial situations.

12. In reading a transcript of a fono, a native speaker (e.g. an orator) may spend some time analyzing a certain speech before being able to say whether it was or was not a lāuga. However, the identity of the speech-maker may, very often, be an immediate and efficient cue. It turns out that only the holders of certain matai titles can actually perform a lāuga in a fono; others cannot. The first group roughly corresponds to the orators (tulāfale), the second to the chiefs (ali'i) and the two senior orators (matua).

13. If the senior orator who chairs the meeting speaks as second, he will open the discussion (talanoaga), and therefore there will be no more lāuga. If he lets another orator from his sub-village speak after the first speech, then all the sub-villages that are represented in the fono must give a lāuga before his turn will come again to open the discussion.

14. On the taboo against mentioning genealogies in Samoa, cf. Freeman 1964.

15. As suggested to me by Edward Finegan (p.c.), a distinction may have to be drawn here between ceremonies that are "performatives" (in Austin's sense) and ceremonies that are public recognitions of something that has actually already happened. The installation of a chief may be an example of the first kind and a funeral of the second.

APPENDIX: Transcripts of Verbal interaction among matai before and during the fono.

(1) (April 7, 1979, p. 3. Before starting the fono, senior orator A inquires about where the other senior orator (Iuli) is.)

A: *A fea le matua* ┌ *//(o le)?*
Where is the matua //( )?
└ *((Finishing his greetings to the assembly))matua*
(to the) matua
ma kapaka o le Ruí Aluu.
and the people of the King of Atua.
(0.3)

A: *O fea Iuli?*
Where (is) Iuli?
(1.2)

C: *E ma'a le la'i fellea'i a a'u ga ua mai a le loku.*
We didn't meet. I got up early (to) go to church.
Sau ai a.
(Thus) I came here.
(1.8)

A: *A'o i(ai) o?*
But is (he) over there?

C: *Na lē iloa fo'i.*
(I) don't know (about that) either.
(2.0)

D: *Le iai.*
(He) is there.
(1.0)

D: *A loku gei.*
(He's) at church now.
(0.5)

A: Mm.

E: *I ai, Iuli?*
who? Iuli?

D: *Mm.*

F: *Sa Loku.*
(He went to) church.

(2) (Same transcript, p. 10, before the fono)
(2.0)

A: *A fea uma fo'i lo kou pikogu'u (a)li'i, (0.3)* ((NAME of B))?
where all also your sub-village sir,

B: *(Se) ka'ilo a i ai. (0.2) Savalivali mai a Kaika.*
(d) I know about it walk here I
Ke lē (iloa).
not (know)
(5.0)

A: *Ga'o Maka'afa a le Falelua ga sau?*
only Mata'afa of the Falelua past come

B: *Ia ai a ga'o // Maka'afa.*
there only Mata'afa

"A: Where are the other people from your sub-village sir, NAME?
B: How do I know? I walked by myself. I don't (know).
A: Only Mata'afa came from the Two Sub-villages?
B: There is only // Mata'afa."

(3) (Second speech on January 25, 1979. One orator has just given a lauga, now the senior orator Moe'ono, who is chairing the meeting will open the discussion).
((Long pause))

M: *Ia fa'amālō feku[illegible] Kaofiuailoa. (3.0) Ua 'o fa'amakagi le*
Congratulations for your speech K. (3.0) You have opened
aofia ma le fono. (2.0) ma ua 'e momoli fo'i le kākou
the meeting. (2.0) and expressed also our
fa'afekai k le oga le maloei 'uma lava.
thanksgiving to the One who has all the powers [=God].
(2.0)

?: *Mālie!*

?: *Mālie!*

M: *Kau ia iga ia fa'afofoga lo kākou Makai, (1.2) fesoasoagi*
May our Lord listen to us (1.2) (and) help
mai iā 'i kākou o Akua fa'alelalolagi ma kākou vaivaiga.
us, the gods on the Earth [=matai] and our weaknesses.
(3.0) A 'o legei kasao ma le aofia ma le fono, (1.5) ia ua ala
But this morning (in) this meeting (1.5) (we) express
fo'i mai i le lagi mamā ma le soifua maua 'Aiga ma Aloali'i
also our wishes for a healthy life to the chiefs

?: *Mālie!*

?: *Mālie!*

M: *Ala fo'i mai fo'i i fagugalelei le kōfā i le Nakua legā ma*
(we) also express the same to the senior orator here and
le kākou 'a'ai.
to the orators of our village.
(1.5)

I: *Mālie!*

M: *Kākou vi'ia le Akua i mea aupiko aluga.*
We praise God for the highest accomplishments.

?: *Mālie!*

?: *Mālie lava!*

?: *Mālie!*

M: *O sā ma faigā o Moamoa ((the name of the village malae)) o legā*
The sacred names of Moamoa, your highness K. has
ua pa'i i ai lau kōfā Kafiloa.
already mentioned.

?: *Mālie*

M: *As o le 'akou aofia ma le fono, (0.8)*
But as for our meeting (0.8)
(0.8)

M: *O le 'ā fa'amoo loa.*
The discussion will be started now.

?: *Nā //lie!*

M: *Auā e lā 'o se fogo o le kī ma le kolo.*
Because this is not a fono with an extremely serious matter.

?: *Mālie!*

M: *Leai o le fogo- (3.0) o lo kākou kofi faipule o lo kākou*
No. It's a fono about our representative (to the Parliament)

iku ma Lufilufi.
for our district.

REFERENCES

Bateson, Gregory (1955). A Theory of Play and Fantasy. A.P.A. Psychiatric Research Reports, II, 1955. Reprinted in Bateson, G. (1972) Steps to an Ecology of Mind. New York: Ballantine Books. 177-193.

Bauman, Richard (1977). Verbal Art as Performance, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Bauman, Richard & Joel Sherzer (eds.) (1974). Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking. London: Cambridge University Press.

Bauman, Richard & Joel Sherzer (1975). The Ethnography of Speaking. Annual Review of Anthropology, vol. 4, ed. by B. J. Siegel. Palo Alto: Annual Reviews. 95-119.

Chung, Sandra (1978). Case Marking & Grammatical Relations in Polynesian. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Coulthard, Malcolm(1977). An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. London: Longman.

Duncan, Starkey (1972. Some Signals and Rules for Taking Speaking Turns in Conversation. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, vol. 23, no. 2, 283-292.

Duranti, Alessandro (in preparation). The FONO: A Samoan Speech Event. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of Southern California.

Firth, Raymond (1974). Speech-Making and Authority in Tikopia. In M. Bloch (ed.). Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society. London: Academic Press. 29-43.

Frake, Charles (1972). "Struck by Speech:" The Yakan Concept of Litigation. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), 106-129.

Freeman, Derek (1964). Some Observations on Kinship and Political Authority in Samoa. American Anthropolgist, vol. 66, no. 3, part I, 553-68.

Freeman, Derek (1978). "A happening frightening to both ghosts and men:" a case study from Western Samoa. In N. Gunson (ed.)The Changing Pacific. Essays in Honour of H. E. Maude. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Givón, Talmy (1979). From Discourse to Syntax: Grammar as a Processing Strategy. In T. Givón (ed.) Syntax and Semantics, vol. 12: Discourse and Syntax, New York: Academic Press.

Gumperz, John and Dell Hymes (eds.)(1972). Directions in Sociolinguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Hymes, Dell (1972). Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), 35-71.

Irvine, Judith (1979). Formality and Informality in Communicative Events. American Anthropologist, Vol. 81, 773-790.

Jakobson, Roman (1968). Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry. Lingua 21, 597-609.

Keenan, Edward (1971). Two kinds of Presuppositions in Natural Language. In C. Fillmore and D. T. Langendoen (eds.) Studies in Linguistic Semantics. 45-52. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Keenan, Elinor (1974). A Sliding Sense of Obligatoriness: The Polystructure of Malagasy Oratory. In M. Bloch (ed.) Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society. 93-112. London: Academic Press.

Keesing, F. and Keesing, M. (1956). Elite Communication in Samoa. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Mead, Margaret (1928). Coming of Age in Samoa. New York: Morrow.

Mead, Margaret (1930). Social Organization of Manu'a. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 76. Honolulu.

Milner, G. B. (1961). The Samoan Vocabulary of Respect. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 91, 296-317.

Milner, G. B. (1962). "Active, Passive, or Perfective in Samoan: a Fresh Appraisal of the Problem." Journal of the Polynesian Society, 71, 151-61.

Milner, G. B. (1966). Samoan Dictionary. London: Oxford University Press.

Milner, G. B. (1973). It is Aspect (not Voice) which is Marked in Samoan. Oceanic Linguistics, 12, 621-39.

Ochs, Elinor (1979). Transcription as Theory. In E. Ochs and B. Schieffelin (eds.) Developmental Pragmatics. 43-72. New York: Academic Press.

Reilly, J.; Zukow, P.; and Greenfield, P. (ms.) Transcription Procedures for the Study of Early Language Development. Department of Psychology, University of California at Los Angeles.

Sacks, Harvey; Schegloss, Emmanuel; and Jefferson, Gail (1974). A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-taking for Conversation. Language, vol. 50, 696-735.

Schegloff, Emmanuel; Jefferson, Gail; and Sacks, Harvey (1977). The Preference for Self-correction in the Organization of Repair in Conversation. Language, vol. 53, 361-382.

Shore, Bradd (1977). A Samoan Theory of Action: Social Control and Social Order in a Polynesian Paradox. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Shore, Bradd (1980). Speech Styles and Social Context: A Samoan Case Study, Paper presented at the Symposium on Language and Politics in Oceania, A.S.A.O., Galveston, Texas.

Tuitele, M.T.; Sapolu, M. J.; and Kneubuhl, John (1978). Ia Tātou Gagana. Tusi muamua. ("Our Language. First Volume"). Pago-Pago: Bilingual/Bicultural Education Project of American Samoa.

Turner, Victor (1974). Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.